

For International Labor Action Against Racist Terror!



Black Workers Battle South Africa Apartheid

Revolt in Townships, Class War in Gold Mines

SEPTEMBER 23—The black revolt against apartheid rule reached a new level this past week as class war exploded in the gold mines, the key sector of the entire South African economy. When 40,000 members of the black National Union of Mineworkers walked out for a wage increase, the mine bosses responded with shotguns, rubber bullets, attack dogs and tear gas. In the town of Westonaria near Johannesburg striking miners were massacred. The papers claimed seven killed, but police refused to give details on the number of dead, saying "clearing up" was still going on. Hundreds of workers were hospitalized with ruptured spleens, fractured skulls and other serious injuries. But the black miners were not cowed by this massive use of police-state

terror. The very next day 10,000 of them struck for union recognition at Hartbeesfontein, 100 miles southwest of Westonaria. And last weekend, more than 600 blacks were arrested across South Africa for attending illegal meetings.

Despite all its weapons and all its savagery, white-ruled South Africa is in deep crisis. At this crucial moment international labor action can be decisive in further weakening the apartheid state and opening the road to the liberation of the enslaved black masses. Transportation unions throughout the world must boycott all shipping and air traffic to and from South Africa. Working-class organizations must mobilize massive protests in solidarity with the embattled black toilers of South Africa. Free all victims of apartheid terror! The powerful British labor movement, in particular, must demand that the government grant political asylum to the six anti-apartheid activists who have sought refuge in the British consulate in Durban.

Black Revolt Hits the Gold Fields

The current wave of anti-apartheid struggle began last month when "coloureds" (persons of mixed race) and Indians defied mass arrests to boycott elections to the phony parliaments,

designed to line them up against the black African majority and provide a multiracial façade to former prime minister Botha's assumption of a presidency with dictatorial powers. Then early this month Sharpeville and other black townships in the mining/industrial area of the Transvaal erupted when protests against rent increases were met with bullets. It was at Sharpeville in 1960 that police killed 69 blacks at a peaceful demonstration, ushering in a period of massive state repression which stifled black struggle for over a decade. This time cop and army violence only fanned the flames. The enraged township dwellers hacked to death several local black puppets and torched government offices. The revolt soon spread to Soweto, with its two million inhabitants, which was the center of the 1976-77 revolt.

It is, however, the half-million black gold miners who hold the key strategic position in the South African economy. Gold has dominated capitalist development in South Africa ever since it was discovered on the Rand in the late 19th century. Today South Africa holds 70 percent of the world's gold reserves outside of the Soviet bloc and gold accounts for half of South Africa's export earnings. The country's large but technologically backward manufacturing sector depends upon these foreign exchange earnings to import capital equipment.

Marxists know that any serious labor struggle challenges capitalist property rights and so collides with their armed guards, the police and army. In South Africa this is true with a vengeance, since any black working-class action challenges the apartheid system. In the mines, for example, black workers are frequently physically assaulted by their white racist supervisors. Any black worker who fights back is fired. Now,



John Seymour

Gold miners: key to black labor power in South Africa.

however, the union has been able in some cases to save the jobs of mine workers fired after getting into fights with their shift bosses. One black gold miner expressed his belief that some day the union will be strong enough to tackle the question of whether migrants could live with their families (*New York Times*, 15 March 1983).

The question of leadership is sharply posed in the mines today. Seven of the

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Rad-Lib Nonsense Over Skulls From South Africa

**Anti-Evolution=
Racism/6**

The Taung Baby and the "Piltdown Man"

Engels and Evolution/7



Guardian Shot Down Over KAL 007

Dirty Stalinoid Confessions

When a Korean Air Lines jetliner was shot down last fall as it overflew some of the Soviet Union's most sensitive military installations, Washington immediately began screaming for Russian blood. Reagan accused the Soviet "evil empire" of killing innocent civilians and babies as standard practice. Democrats in Congress fell into line, voting a unanimous resolution condemning the Russians for murder. Much of the left snapped to attention as well: the Communist Party's *Daily World* shamefully denied the Soviets had downed the intruder KAL 007 aircraft. The worst scumbags were the Maoists and ex-Maoists, long accustomed to supporting their own murderous bourgeoisie in the name of fighting "Soviet social imperialism." The rad-lib *Guardian* (14 September 1983) wrote

that the USSR must be "held accountable and condemned" for shooting down the provocateur plane.

From the beginning, *Workers Vanguard* proclaimed "Reagan's Story Stinks!" We declared and demonstrated that KAL 007 was a U.S. war provocation, something that even independent bourgeois "experts" are now discovering. We found wide interest in our analysis, particularly among black people in the U.S. who know to distrust anything the government tells them. Yet much of the reformist left was shamelessly selling Reaganite war propaganda while the U.S. used the Cold War hysteria to install its nuclear first strike Pershing 2 rockets in Europe. Now suddenly the *Guardian* (12 September) is eating its own words:

"The *Guardian* made a mistake last year

when it condemned the USSR for shooting down the [Korean Air Lines Flight 007] jetliner. That position was taken in haste...we should have been better informed."

Some "mistake"! The editors claim they were duped in a moment of weakness by the hate-the-Russians campaign. "Reagan administration assertions" they say "were accepted without question" by the major media...and by the *Guardian*. So for the last year these "independent radicals" have been trumpeting imperialist war propaganda while the "Trotskyites" told the truth. Explain that one, John Trink!

The *Guardian* tries to pass off its year-later discovery of American responsibility for the KAL affair as the result of recent revelations by "people with knowledge of U.S. military intelli-

gence matters." What crap! They point to the presence of the RC-135 spy planes, the vast U.S. electronic surveillance systems in the region, the evasive maneuver made by the jetliner over Sakhalin, etc. But most of these facts were known at the time. A recent article in the British military magazine *Defence Attaché* and David Pearson's lengthy investigative piece in the *Nation*, while adding some new elements, mainly confirm what we, and the Soviet news agency TASS, said at the time.

The petty-bourgeois rad-libs are driven into a frenzy by fear of Reagan, and lacking confidence in the working class, the only salvation they can see is to resuscitate the moribund popular front with the Democratic Party. But Mondale & Co. only have tactical differences with Reagan in the drive to war against the Soviet Union. And when the chips are down—as they were last fall—the Democrats and their groveling camp followers toe the class line.

Now these "radicals" admit to a so-called "mistake" but only because their tattered "left" image has been

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CWP: From Workers Viewpoint to Jesse's Viewpoint

"The Last Workers Viewpoint." So said the Communist Workers Party, offhandedly announcing that it was closing down its press. This laconic notice in the July 4-17 issue said that in May they had shifted from a weekly to a biweekly "so that the staff could begin a process of re-evaluating the paper's role and direction." Having re-evaluated, they evidently decided to throw in the towel. The kindest expression we can think of for such a move is lightminded. Say a couple thousand people in this country look to them for leadership...and the CWP just folds up shop. Actually, they

are only the latest of numerous ex-Maoist groups and tendencies (following Irwin Silber's *Line of March*, Klonsky's CPML, the *Guardian*) who have made their way back to the Democratic Party of the Bay of Pigs and Vietnam. The CWP's vehicle was the Jesse Jackson campaign; thus it is quite appropriate that the last issue of *Workers Viewpoint* contained a call for electing Mondale.

The CWP is an organization which is best known for its martyrs—the five leftist union organizers and civil rights workers viciously murdered in broad

daylight by the KKK/Nazis in Greensboro on 3 November 1979. While in the past the organization had oscillated widely from adventurist substitutionism to crass opportunism, after Greensboro they seemed to turn sharply to Democratic Party politics. *Workers Viewpoint* turned into an election rag for every black Democrat from Mel King in Boston, Bill Murphy in Baltimore to Harold Washington in Chicago. For the last year they've thrown themselves into the Jesse Jackson campaign, seeking to capitalize on his popularity among blacks. In order to sell the black masses the myth of the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, they have systematically covered up for Jesse's strikebreaking, his anti-Asian protectionism, and notably Jackson's embrace of George "Mr. Segregation" Wallace.

Yet as we wrote last winter, "Anyone who wants to go 'all the way with J.J.' will soon get rid of all the 'red' trappings anyhow" ("Donkey Work for the Democrats—CWP Caboose on the Jesse Jackson Train," *WV* No. 347, 3 February). It seems the CWP membership has come to the same conclusion. After all, if the party press is just a mouthpiece for the Democrats, why bother? (For that matter, if the party branches are just local Jackson support committees, who needs them either?) This flagrant liquidationism culminated at the CWP-organized "People's Convention" held at Laney College in Oakland on the eve of the Democratic convention in SF to work up an "alternative platform" to present to this bourgeois party. It was here CWP chairman Jerry Tung called for the left to work within the Democratic Party because "we can get funding from the Democrats to sustain our struggles" (*Guardian*, 25 July).

Of course Mondale, the CWP's

current election choice, was Jimmy Carter's vice president while government "infiltrators" were egging on, planning, participating in and covering up for the Greensboro massacre. And the same July 4th special Democratic convention issue of *Workers Viewpoint* dropped its regular editorial statement: "Only socialism can save America." So, goodbye Marx and Lenin, hello Jesse and Fritz.

The liquidationism of the CWP reflects the broader disintegration of the American Maoist movement which began when Richard Nixon clinked glasses with Chou En-lai in Peking's Great Hall of the Peoples as the U.S. imperialists were carpet-bombing Hanoi. The crisis within the Maoist groups increased with the deepening reactionary Washington/Peking alliance, marked by Chinese support for the South African invasion of Angola and China's role as U.S. cat's paw in the bloody 1979 invasion of Vietnam. With the onset of the Reagan years, the logic of the Maoists' bloc with that most fanatical enemy of "Soviet (social) imperialism" was so devastating that the two largest U.S. Maoist groups gave up the ghost, the RCP's Bob Avakian running off to Paris and CPML's Mike Klonsky quitting.

The group around Jerry Tung, based in New York's Chinatown, split from Progressive Labor in 1969, for hard Maoism against PL's screwball Stalinism-without-a-country. Later on, calling themselves the Workers Viewpoint Organization, Tung's group expanded South and managed to recruit black cadre moving leftward out of the nationalist milieu. Following their "Death to the Klan" confrontations in North Carolina and the tragic events in Greensboro, the CWP swung sharply to the right, looking for some "friendly"

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WorkersViewpoint

4-17 July 1984

THE LAST WORKERS VIEWPOINT

As of this issue of the *Workers Viewpoint*, we are suspending publication indefinitely. In May we shifted from a weekly to a bi-weekly (every two weeks) schedule so that the staff could begin a process of re-evaluating the paper's role and direction. The decision to suspend publication altogether is taken so as to devote all our attention to this process. Subscribers will receive the equivalent of the remainder of their subscriptions — Editor.



TROTSKY

Communism and Religion

Marx recognized that the illusory salvation promised by religion was inherent in a society based upon exploitation and oppression. The struggle for communism is the struggle to free mankind of the need for religious solace.

Religious suffering is at the same time an expression of real suffering and a protest against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of

a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of men, is a demand for their real happiness. The call to abandon their illusions about their condition is a call to abandon a condition which requires illusions. The criticism of religion is, therefore, the embryonic criticism of this vale of tears of which religion is the halo.

—Karl Marx, "Introduction to *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*" (1844)



LENIN

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28 September 1984

S.F. Protest Against South Africa Terror

"Break the Chains of Apartheid Slavery!"

SAN FRANCISCO, September 19— "Smash apartheid, this is the hour! Black workers have got the power!" chanted 60 militant anti-apartheid demonstrators here today. The Spartacist League and the Labor Black League for Social Defense called today's demonstration in front of the South African Airways office in solidarity with militant struggles being waged by South African workers and youth in recent weeks and to oppose the murderous repression that has been unleashed by Botha's homicidal cops and troops. A key theme of the demonstration was the urgent need for international labor solidarity with the anti-apartheid fighters, in the form of an international labor boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa.

Standing by a large SL banner reading "Smash Apartheid! For Workers Revolution!" Spartacist candidates for SF Board of Supervisors Richard Bradley and Diana Coleman denounced the barbarous Botha regime and the anti-Soviet war drive that cements the Washington/Pretoria axis. Bradley, well known for having twice torn down the Confederate flag of slavery and KKK racism that Democratic mayor "Dixie" Dianne Feinstein had flying in SF Civic Center, linked his actions to the fight against race-terror internationally: "The reason why I climbed that 50-foot flagpole... was because that Confederate flag stands for the same thing the government is promoting in South Africa and the same thing the Reagan administration along with Dianne Feinstein is promoting here." Noting



Protesters outside South African Airways office in SF, September 19.

that South Africa has become a haven for anti-Communist Polish Solidarność émigrés, he remarked: "No Russian ever called me 'nigger'."

Both Bradley and Coleman lambasted the Democratic Party, liberal wing of U.S. imperialism, which has never wavered in supporting the apartheid butchers as "free world" allies against Communism. Coleman addressed the liberal-backed Proposition J on the SF ballot, which calls on the city to divest itself of stocks in companies with South African holdings. Coleman, whose speech is reprinted below, called this "nothing but a plea to liberal imperialists to act more 'morally'... a cruel hoax" since "capitalism puts



nothing before its profits." In counterposition to such reformist schemes, supported by fake-lefts like Socialist Action's supervisory candidate Sylvia Weinstein, the Spartacists called for hot-cargoing all South African cargo, strike action to force recognition of the black trade unions and the struggle for workers' rule from South Africa to the U.S.

Peter Woolston, a member of the General Executive Board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 6 and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus, hammered home the demonstration's urgent call for labor action: "Right now that country should be shut down tight.

Nothing should go in; nothing should come out." Other speakers at the rally included Guillermo Bustamante of the Spartacus Youth League, Victor Toro of the Chilean Tendencia Proletaria Insurreccional, a representative of the Alameda County Peace and Freedom Party, and Myra Owens for the Labor Black League. Owens recalled last year's SL/LBL demonstration at the same site against the lynching of three heroic militants of the African National Congress. Today's protest ended with the singing of the "Internationale," in memory of—and vowing vengeance for—the martyrs of apartheid terror. Smash the chains of apartheid slavery! ■

Diana Coleman Kicks Off S.F. Election Campaign: Workers Must "Divest" the Bosses!

The following is a speech by Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for SF Board of Supervisors, at a demonstration in solidarity with South African black workers and youth battling apartheid terror. This protest took place at the South African Airways office in San Francisco on September 19.



Diana Coleman

We're here today in solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South Africa who are fighting apartheid. Protests against the new constitution and the sham elections were met with massive repression by the police and army. But the re-emergence of class struggle, led by the black proletariat, poses the real possibility of workers revolution through smashing apartheid.

We in this country had better understand that the vicious racist regime in South Africa is one of Washington's closest allies in the anti-Soviet war drive. When the imperialist rulers of this country talk about the "free world" what they mean is South Africa! South Africa is a mainstay, along with the Zionist butchers in Israel, of U.S. imperialism's global counterrevolutionary crusade. Reagan's war drive, which aims at giving decaying capitalism a new lease on life through overturning the gains of the Russian Revolution, threatens to destroy the world through nuclear holocaust. As Trotskyists, we stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union and its collective planned economy from imperialism, despite the bureaucratic degeneration which threatens those gains. And we understand that despite differences over timing and tactics, the anti-Soviet war drive is a bipartisan effort—Democratic

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Vindictive Harassment of Spartacist Candidate: Hands Off Richard Bradley!

SAN FRANCISCO, September 18— Richard Bradley, Spartacist candidate for Supervisor, and a hero in black and working-class neighborhoods for having twice torn down the Confederate flag in SF Civic Center last April, has been subjected to vicious and illegal racist harassment by the SF cops. On September 10, Bradley, a black man, was driving his employer's BMW when he was pulled over by a patrol car. When the cops realized who they had in their racist dragnet, one cop said "So, you're Richard Bradley" and the other cop started laughing. Bradley was spread-eagled and searched and his car minutely gone over, with no reason ever being offered. This occurred in the vicinity of the city's Northern Station whose cops had arrested Bradley when he tore down the Dixie flag of slavery and Klan terror. Bradley's trial for the "crime" of ripping down Mayor Dianne Feinstein's official display of racism ended in a hung jury; then all charges were dropped. The cops and the rest of the racists haven't forgotten.

This incident takes place in the sinister context of Reagan's "terror"-scare campaign to intimidate the populace and repress political opposition. The Democrats have embraced this new McCarthyism even to their own detriment. The Democratic mayor, "Dixie" Dianne Fein-



Richard Bradley, in Union Army uniform, tears down Confederate flag.

stein, orchestrated, with her cops and the feds, a scare campaign "predicting" violence at the Democratic Party Convention, supposedly emanating from the tame liberals planning demonstrations to lobby and pressure the Democrats. This effort to blame demonstrators in advance for real cop and rightist violence prominently cited the Spartacist League, in dispatches replayed from

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British Spartacists Introduce **WORKERS HAMMER**

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SEPTEMBER 1984

The eighth national conference of the Spartacist League/Britain, meeting in London in mid-August, voted to change the name of our monthly newspaper *Spartacist Britain*. Following a meeting of our newly elected Central Committee and subsequent consultation it was resolved to rename the paper *Workers Hammer*.

Through more than six years of publication and sixty numbers, *Spartacist Britain* has addressed the key issues of domestic and international politics

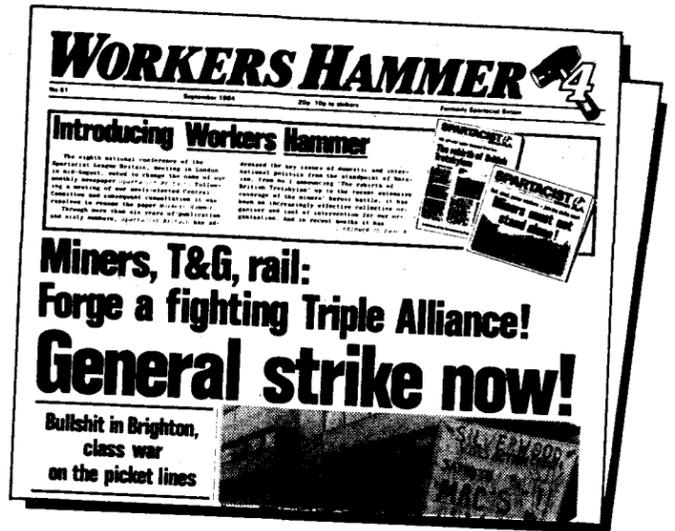
from the standpoint of Marxism. From No. 1 announcing "The rebirth of British Trotskyism" up to the recent extensive coverage of the miners' heroic battle, it has been an increasingly effective collective organiser and tool of intervention for our organisation. And in recent months it has reached significantly broader layers of the working class than ever before.

We have chosen the name *Workers Hammer* in recognition of our tasks in fighting to be the nucleus of a revolutionary workers party. The hammer is an instrument for *change*: for reshaping and constructing through force of human action. The worker's hammer was joined with the peasant's sickle as the symbol of the Russian Revolution of 1917, of the new Soviet state and of Communist parties throughout the world in the early years of the Communist International. The figure 4 in our new masthead insignia symbolises our fight to reforge the Fourth International, founded by Leon Trotsky in 1938 to continue the fight for world revolution in the face of the Comintern's Stalinist degeneration.

Spartacist Britain, which has identified us for sixty issues as the British section of the international Spartacist tendency, tends to sound like a spin-off press. Further, it does not adequately reflect the fighting history of the British working class or our goal of forging communist leadership for this class.

This country is in a period of deep-going class struggle, and we want our press to be expressly and obviously a

Workers Hammer points the way forward as six-month strike by heroic miners convulses Thatcher's Britain.



First issue announces formation of Spartacist League/Britain in 1978.

champion of the proletariat. We want it to be bold, uncompromisingly Soviet-defencist in the face of the imperialist war drive, forthrightly against the smarmy English establishment centred on the Royal Family and Westminster, and sharply counterposed to the prevailing, narrow, parochial Labourite mush of the British so-called left.

What we did not want in our choice of name was the pedestrian, look-and-sound-alike quality of most British left papers, reflecting their opportunist politics and appetites. We stand in the footsteps of the Russian Bolsheviks, of the early Trotskyists, of the World War I German revolutionary internationalist Spartakusbund (Spartacus League), from whom our organisation proudly takes its name. And we draw inspiration

as well from past great revolutionaries on this island, from Cromwell to the Chartists to John Maclean. It was Maclean, leader of the Clydeside proletariat in its historic revolutionary battles during and following World War I, who summed up the aims which the Spartacist League and our *Workers Hammer* uphold today:

"We witness today what all Marxists expected, the capitalist class of the world and their Governments joined together in a most vigorously active attempt to crush Bolshevism in Russia and Spartacism in Germany. Bolshevism, by the way, is Socialism triumphant, and Spartacism is Socialism in process of achieving triumph. This is the class war on an international basis, a Class War that must and will be fought out to the logical conclusion—the extinction of capitalism everywhere."
—*The Call*, 23 January 1919 ■

Here She Comes...

Miss Moral Majority 1984

"Are you now, or have you ever been ... naked?" was the question of the year for the new 1985 Miss America. Sharlene Wells, the daughter of a Salt Lake City Mormon minister, won hands down. Wells, who absolutely denies any nude skeletons in her closet, plays the harp and collects bars of soap. And just to keep it *really* clean she appeared before the judges in what they called a "Utah" swimsuit (double-lined, with no low-cut top or high-cut legs). The judges "were looking for someone like me," she said. Boy, were they. This Miss Mormon/Moral Majority says "I follow the flag with my whole body." Further-

more, she's against smoking, drinking, gambling, premarital sex, the Equal Rights Amendment and abortion. "I am very much in support of President Reagan," she added (*Washington Post*, 17 September). What a surprise.

Of course, "Miss America" has always appealed to the most prurient, genuinely obscene aspects of Puritanism, but this time the reactionary religious aspects were explicit. The Mormons not only excommunicated a woman for supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, but also kicked out a male member for trying to ordain a black man as a minister. Mormon founder

Brigham Young declared that blacks are "the race of Cain" and any "seed mixing" (miscegenation) deserves "death on the spot." But that's "Miss America" in the Reagan years for you, another grotesque and sick example of deadly rot of this racist society.

When the first black Miss America was viciously attacked by organizers of the Miss America pageant racket after *Penthouse* published some sexy nude photos of her and a white woman together, we said "Viva Vanessa!" The attack on Vanessa was anti-sex, anti-woman and anti-black, and we stated, "It's too bad Miss Williams didn't decide to tough it out and refuse to resign. Those *Penthouse* pictures do a lot more for her and 'American womanhood' than anything that's happened in Atlantic City" (*WV* No. 360, 3 August). This whirlwind of sanctimonious hypocrisy was so repulsive that even *TV Guide* published an article decrying the self-righteous "Mrs. Grundys" who "publicly...denounce our carnal appetites as instruments of the devil" while privately reveling in the "juicy little scandal."

To quote a tongue-in-cheek letter writer commenting on complaints against *Sports Illustrated's* annual bathing suit issue: "If god wanted women to run around naked, they would have been born that way." ■



She ain't no Vanessa. UPI



CORRECTIONS

We are informed by a spokesman for the Pan-Africanist Congress that in our article, "Anti-Apartheid Protest at South African Embassy" (*WV* No. 362, 14 September), he was misquoted as advocating "cultural autonomy." He called instead for the right of self-determination for South African blacks and equated "cultural autonomy" with the apartheid regime's brutal schemes of "separate development." Our apologies.

In that same issue, a typographical error in the article "Nicaragua: CIA Mercenaries Blown Away" listed eleven people killed in the September 1 *contra* terror-bombing raid. The correct figure is seven. And the article "Auto Workers: Strike the Big 3!" should have said that Vincent Chin was bludgeoned to death by a Chrysler foreman and his stepson (and not nephew, as we incorrectly stated).

Rad-Lib Nonsense Over Skulls From South Africa

Anti-Evolution=Racism

By Elizabeth Jannar

1984 marks the 125th anniversary of Darwin's publishing of *On the Origin of Species* but the battle for a materialist understanding of our world and human society is, if anything, heating up all over again. The most fascinating, enlightening—and irrefutable—demonstration of what Darwin called "descent with modification" (the word "evolution" can, and has, been used wrongly to imply "progress" toward some lofty ideal—invariably white and male) is an unprecedented collection of primate fossils which was exhibited last spring and summer at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. The "Ancestors" exhibit brought together for the first time in history four million years of our fossilized forebears—an education in itself.

This threatens some people. In Berlin of 1936, a floodlight like the "Ancestors" exhibit—illuminating the stygian darkness of Nazi-imposed ignorance and its myth of Aryan racial superiority by demonstrating that all of us together are part of the *human* race, good or bad—would promptly have landed the exhibit's organizers in a concentration camp for showing that Adolf Hitler and his bully-boys, just like all the rest of us, are descended from early apes. The very existence of this remarkable fossil record is the most powerful, concrete proof of the oneness of humanity.

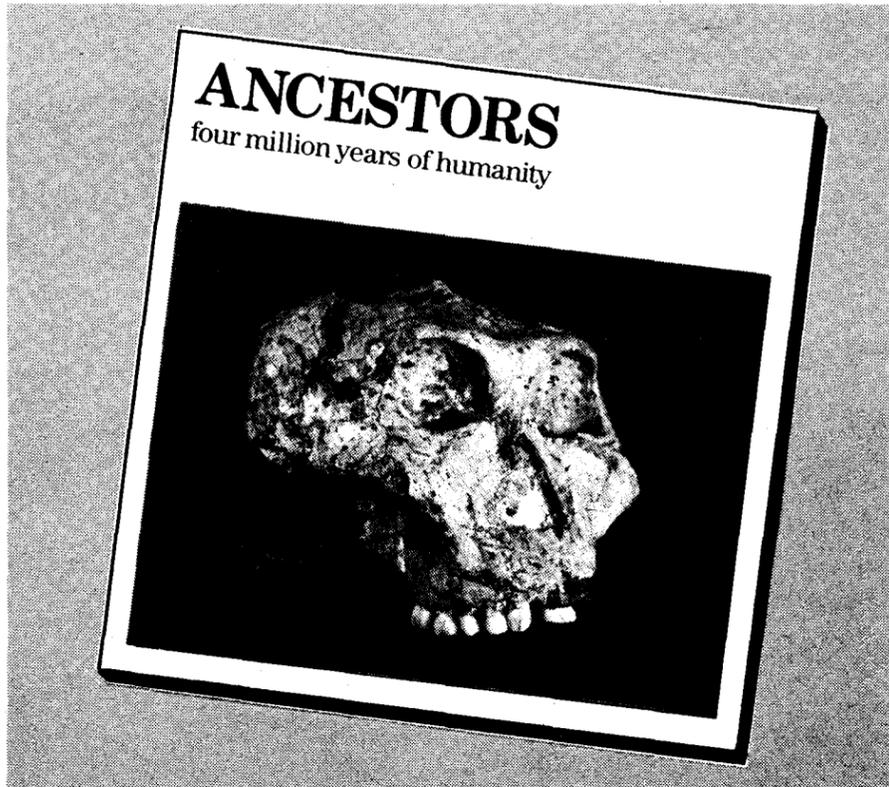
And so it was particularly ironic that, in the name of anti-apartheid, this truly



Jerry Cooke

No fake. Eclipsed by Piltdown phony for decades, Taung Baby found in South Africa in 1924 is now recognized as 2-million-year-old *Australopithecus africanus* youngster.

liberating exhibit came under attack from forces akin to those that brought you the Scopes Monkey Trial, except this time in left/liberal drag. Ostensibly because some of the most crucial pieces



***Australopithecus robustus*, one of the fossil skulls rad-libs would have excluded from Natural History Museum's once-in-a-lifetime family reunion. He's neither ape nor human, but that's not why he's not invited. He's guilty of being "South African"!**

of evidence included therein happened to come from within the boundaries of the present racist South African state, the militant know-nothingists would have censored the exhibit and penalized its organizers. In fact, there is a racist flavor to some of the exhibit's ancillary material. The exhibitors have supplied imaginative reconstructions of the various "Ancestors," and the earlier the fossils, the hairier and more Negroid are the artists' reconstructions of what these people might have looked like. But the bones speak for themselves.

The so-named "Rev." Wendell Foster, black city councilman from the Bronx, introduced two bills before that body. One demanded that the museum remove the "South African" fossils from its exhibit, while the other called for cutting off city financial aid to any institution (read: museum) having business, cultural or athletic exchanges with South Africa.

Taken at face value, as a supposed "blow" against apartheid, this strategy can only be characterized as australopithecine in intelligence. (To call it Neanderthal would be to grievously insult what were most likely our fellow, although early—and equally canny—*Homo sapiens*.) It's not only ironic, it's moronic. Skulls are not Krugerrands! Johannesburg can claim no credit for

the fact that one or more populations of *Australopithecus africanus*, or later one or more populations of the *robustus* line, found the region a nice place to live two million or so years ago.

But wait—could there be another, undeclared motivation for Rev. Foster & Co.'s seemingly impotent gesture? When you dig up the real evidence of what makes us what we are, what comes crashing down with a great thud is not only those evil myths of racial superiority. So does Creationism, every fundamentalist preacher's bread and butter. (With no god that created us all, who needs his messengers on earth? By the way, as far as we know, South Africa, Iran and the U.S. are the only countries in the world that countenance Creationism in their official school texts.)

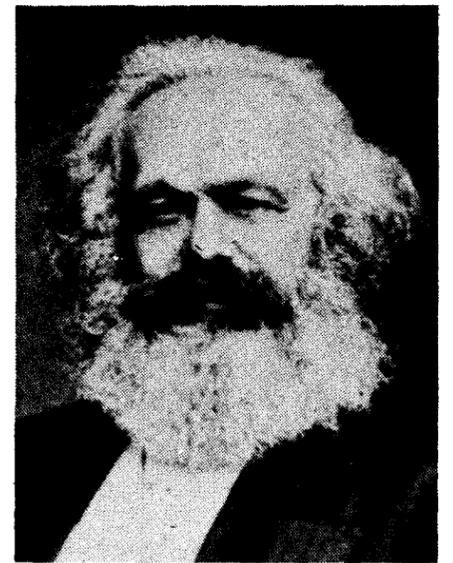
This is pretty fundamental stuff. The right to know is central to every struggle for social justice, bar none. In the '70s New Left in general, Progressive Labor Party in particular, and everywhere that the hard reality of the class struggle does not make itself felt, the philistines can get away for a while with stupidly declaring along with PL's Milt Rosen that "all knowledge serves the ruling class." Wanna bet? Karl Marx said that ignorance never did anybody any good, and that's the truth.

We could go on at great length about the lessons of "Ancestors"—about Peking man and Java man and Lucy. Not to mention Fred (Engels) who already in the 19th century saw the prime importance of upright posture, with its freeing of the hands for tool-making and labor, in the development of humankind as we know it ("The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man," written in 1876, published posthumously in 1896). We hope our journal *Women and Revolution* will consider the subject for an upcoming issue. Meanwhile we can recommend some authors highly worthy of your attention.

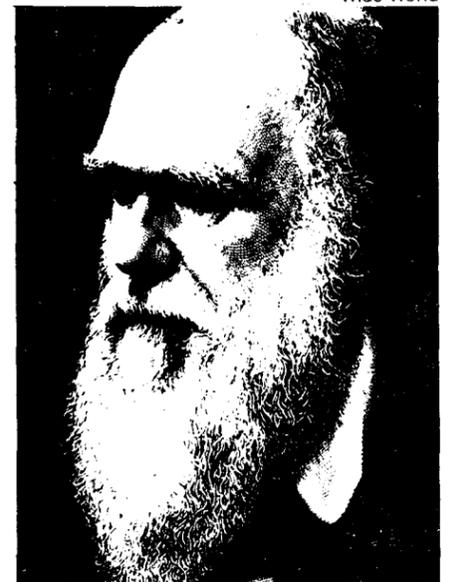
If you want to know about Lucy and

her kind—hominids who walked upright three and a half million years ago and so had gone beyond their ape ancestors but were not yet really human like our own genus, *Homo*—then get hold of the book *Lucy* by her discoverer Donald Johanson and Maitland Edey. The other name we want to give you is that of Stephen Jay Gould, an enormously intellectually powerful biologist who thinks dialectically and writes charmingly. He has a column in *Natural History* magazine, which you can subscribe to by becoming a member of the American Museum of Natural History. Collections of these essays will be found in his books *Ever Since Darwin*, *The Panda's Thumb* and *Hen's Teeth and Horse's Toes*. A deeper explanation of his view of evolution is found in *Ontogeny and Phylogeny*. He is also—not just coincidentally—to our knowledge the most profound theoretician of anti-racism alive in this country. If you want the real hard-core stuff, based on the most rigorous science, read his book *The Mismeasure of Man*.

We're sure our readers share our thirst for knowledge of what really makes us tick and for insight into man's historically evolved role in the world. The fascinating developments in the study of human evolution have important implications for Marxists. And it's fun. "Ancestors" at the Museum of Natural History was perhaps the most extraordinary family reunion ever held on the face of the earth. We went ape. ■

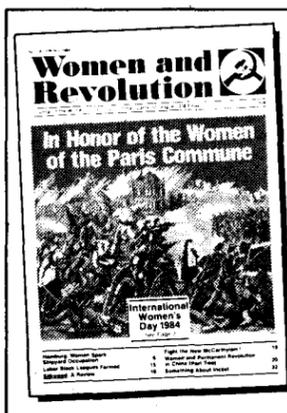


Wide World



NY Times

Karl Marx (top) and Charles Darwin. Marx wrote to Engels in 1869 that Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* "contains the basis in natural history for our view."



Women and Revolution

Issue No. 28

- In Honor of the Women of the Paris Commune
- Hamburg: Women Spark Shipyard Occupation
- Labor Black Leagues Formed
- *Silkwood*: A Review
- Fight the New McCarthyism!
- Women and Permanent Revolution in China (Part Two)
- Something About Incest

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Frederick Engels.

Progress

The Taung Baby and the "Piltdown Man" Engels and Evolution

By Alice Grange



Senzer/Newsweek

Stephen Jay Gould and friends.

One of the exquisite ironies of the controversy surrounding the Natural History Museum's "Ancestors" exhibit is that one of the "South African" skulls the left/liberals would have excluded is the Taung Baby itself. Discovered by Raymond Dart in 1924, it was the first specimen ever uncovered of a whole new, more primitive and previously unknown hominid genus, *Australopithecus*. The British paleoanthropological "establishment," for its own reasons, remained convinced it was no more than an extinct ape. For decades the lords of British anthropology refused to acknowledge this important find as an early hominid. Why?

Between the year 1856, when the first Neanderthal remains were found, and the time of the Taung discovery, fossil finds in Europe and Asia (including Java, Peking and Heidelberg man, all examples of *Homo erectus*, and the *Homo sapiens* Cro-Magnon) were whetting the appetites of paleoanthropologists everywhere to uncover and lay claim to the sought-after "missing link." Presented with a candidate for "oldest man" on their own national soil, the leading British paleoanthropologists in 1912 had leaped upon the so-called "Piltdown Man." It had going for it, among other things, the blessing of being an *Englishman*. Moreover, though dentition and jaw structure were

more ape-like than any specimen found so far, the skull flatteringly showed a much greater cranial capacity than any of the specimens from elsewhere. Never mind that this feature was in flat contradiction to the conclusions being drawn from the discoveries then pouring in from the Chinese sites. Piltdown was accepted because it was oh-so-comforting to believe that our most "noble" feature, the brain, should be found in relatively abundant quantity (even if one had to concede a more ape-like face) on the first Englishman. With similar fatuous reasoning it was found natural that Peking man, not being of the white race, should have a brain only two-thirds the size of "Piltdown Man." The Piltdown "fossil" was celebrated as the crown jewel of the benighted English scientific establishment because it purported to show them what they wanted to see: a large-brained progenitor, conveniently found in England. What the strictures of racist imperialism demanded, they saw—for they owed their positions to it.

Not until the 1950s was the plain truth acknowledged. Piltdown's renown turned to embarrassment and the subject was hurriedly buried when the "fossil" was shown to be a readily recognizable concoction of a modern upper human cranium artfully stained to match the lower jaw of an orangutan

with its molars carefully filed down and otherwise suitably altered. Both were only about 500 years old. How embarrassing for the English scientists—and for the French Jesuit priest and cult figure Teilhard de Chardin who appears inextricably enmeshed in the hoax. Belatedly, the edifice of phony "objectivity" crumbled and the South African *Australopithecus* fossils assumed their rightful role in the evolutionary record.

Recent finds of *Australopithecus* in eastern Africa, including the skeleton named Lucy, confirm this conclusion: our hominid ancestors first walked upright, while the brain remained small and apelike. It was cultural bias that had led the scientific establishment to draw the wrong conclusion of cerebral primacy. Yet as far back as 1876, Frederick Engels, approaching the subject on the basis of dialectical materialism, was able to expose this conceit and anticipate present scientific discoveries by a century. Stephen Jay Gould comments, in his book *Ever Since Darwin* (W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), on Engels' essay "The Part Played by Labor in the Transition from Ape to Man." We publish some excerpts from Gould's book below:

* * * * *

Engels considers three essential features of human evolution: speech, a

large brain, and upright posture. He argues that the first step must have been a descent from the trees with subsequent evolution to upright posture by our ground-dwelling ancestors. "These apes when moving on level ground began to drop the habit of using their hands and to adopt a more and more erect gait. This was the decisive step in the transition from ape to man." Upright posture freed the hand for using tools (labor, in Engels's terminology); increased intelligence and speech came later.

"Thus the hand is not only the organ of labor, it is also the product of labor. Only by labor, by adaptation to ever new operations... by the ever-renewed employment of these inherited improvements in new, more and more complicated operations, has the human hand attained the high degree of perfection that has enabled it to conjure into being the pictures of Raphael, the statues of Thorwaldsen, the music of Paganini."

... The importance of Engels's essay lies, not in its substantive conclusions, but in its trenchant political analysis of why Western science was so hung up on the a priori assertion of cerebral primacy.

As humans learned to master their material surroundings, Engels argues, other skills were added to primitive hunting—agriculture, spinning, pottery, navigation, arts and sciences, law

continued on page 9

Liberal Moralists Can't Fight Apartheid

Black Workers Will Smash South African Racist Rule!

The protest against the Museum of Natural History's "Ancestors" exhibit is an especially silly example of the rad-lib campaign to boycott all things South African, from Krugerrands to sardines to the innocuous musical *Ipi Tombi*. In particular, liberals appeal to the universal outrage against apartheid racism in demanding that colleges and other institutions divest their stocks and bonds of any corporations operating in South Africa. The only effect of such schemes is to produce more business for Wall Street stockbrokers as they shuffle investor portfolios.

Of course, we protest against the genuine representatives of South African racist rule. The all-white "national" rugby team, the Springboks, for example, serve as semi-official ambassadors of the apartheid state. When the Springboks made their first-ever tour of the U.S. in 1981, right after South Africa had attacked Angola, we wrote:

"The Springboks tour provides an important opportunity for massive protests against the U.S./South Africa Cold War axis. By driving the South African 'national' team out of the country, militants can demonstrate support to the guerrilla fighters of SWAPO, to the Angolan and Cuban soldiers and Russian advisers

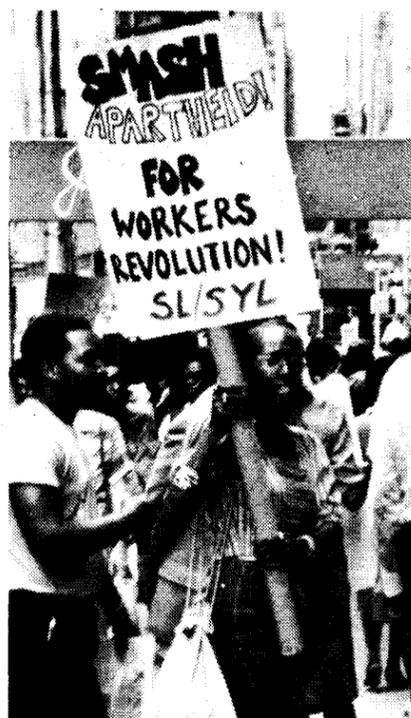
now battling racist imperialism in Africa."

—"Drive Springboks Out!" *WV* No. 288, 11 September 1981

At the same time, we do not treat all white South African athletes as racist pariahs to be barred from international competition. The Afrikaner heavyweight boxer Gerrie Coetzee, for example, has publicly spoken out against apartheid and has sponsored and worked with young black athletes.

What's wrong with the rad-lib "boycott everything South African" campaign is not just that it's stupid, indiscriminate and ineffectual, but that implicitly it *prettifies* American imperialism. Are the Reagans and Rockefellers more humane, more democratic than the Bothas and Oppenheimers? Are the U.S. rulers *lesser* enemies of humanity? South Africa is a *junior* partner of American imperialism. In their wildest ambitions the rulers in Pretoria seek to dominate and exploit the surrounding black African states. The masters of the White House and Pentagon are prepared to destroy all of mankind to defend capitalism ("the free world") against Communism. The main enemy is at home!

The liberal moralists who want to boycott everything South African have no understanding at all how to



WV Photo

Spartacists protest racist terror in South Africa.

shatter white racist rule over 20 million black toilers. South African capitalism's increasing dependence on black labor is the Achilles' heel of the entire apartheid system. Witness the explosive growth of black trade unions in

recent years and the gold miners' revolt against murderous police-state repression. A recent survey conducted by a reputable liberal sociologist indicated that 75 percent of black South African factory workers oppose divestment as harmful to their economic interests (*New York Times*, 23 September). Real, not bogus, solidarity demands that the American and West European trade-union movements force multinationals operating in South Africa (like Ford and GM) to recognize black unions and to abolish the color bar and all racist practices. In the present emergency, urgent international labor action can provide powerful aid to the black masses rising up against their apartheid oppressors. That, not divestment and cultural boycotts, will bring the day of reckoning for South Africa's racist rulers much closer.

Under a communist vanguard party, South Africa's black proletariat will be the gravedigger of apartheid capitalism, giving rise to a black-centered workers and peasants government. Committed to this perspective, we do *not* want to cut South Africa off from the rest of humanity but just the opposite. We seek to integrate the forces in South Africa struggling against apartheid into the world socialist revolution.

Shockley Preaches Nazi Race "Theories"

ATLANTA—William Shockley, the pseudo-scientific ideologue of white supremacy, had sued the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* and black journalist Roger Witherspoon for \$1.25 million in libel damages for printing that Shockley advocated Nazi race theories. On September 14, a jury of five whites and one black in Atlanta federal district court held that Shockley had been libeled, yet awarded him only one dollar in damages. At the trial, experts testified that while Shockley had been awarded the Nobel Prize for his part in inventing

it over. During the last month, two Atlanta abortion clinics have been bombed. To the Birmingham church bombers and lynchers the Shockley plan is no "thinking exercise," as he likes to call it. They want to carry it out, through murder if necessary.

Shockley and his fellow traveler Arthur Jensen maintain that 85 percent of American blacks fall below the mean of "white intelligence" and qualify for his "voluntary bonus sterilization plan" in which people with IQs below 100 would be bribed to undergo steriliza-



Hulton Picture Library

Nazi doctors test for "pure Aryans." Those labeled "genetically inferior" were sterilized.

the transistor, he was "totally incompetent" as a geneticist. The jury didn't buy the argument of damage to Shockley's reputation and said if he wanted publicity he ought to "pay for it out of his pocket." Ever since the 1960s Shockley has been pushing his silly racist theories, trying to "prove" the genetic inferiority of blacks and proposing his final solution—"voluntary sterilization." But it says something about Reagan's America that in 1984 expert witnesses had to be dragged into court to "debate" whether or not blacks are "inferior" and to show that apologists for Nazi race theories are racist.

Shockley had singled out one sentence in particular from Witherspoon's 31 July 1980 column "Designer Genes by Shockley," as a "damnable, evil lie": "The Shockley program was tried out in Germany during World War II, when scientists under the direction of the government experimented on Jews and defectives in an effort to study genetic development." Many people have said exactly this and worse about Shockley before. So why did he decide to pursue a lawsuit in 1981? Could it have anything to do with the fact that a Ku Klux Klan-endorsed president had just entered the White House? Reagan has given the green light to Cold War racist reaction; in a letter to Reagan upon his election, Shockley urged government implementation of his sterilization plan.

The currency being given to Shockley's racist theories is closely linked to the rise of KKK terror and attacks on blacks throughout the country. On the stand Shockley embraced the *Thunderbolt*, organ of J.B. Stoner's white-supremacist National States Rights Party, which often quotes him favorably. In mid-August the fascists were called before a grand jury investigating a wave of terrorist break-ins and beatings of interracial couples in Georgia. When the National Anti-Klan Network held a press conference on the courthouse steps, the KKK race-terrorists forcibly disrupted it and took

tion. He also helped set up (and contributed to) a sperm bank matching Nobel Prize winning donors with high IQ recipients, alleging that some of his own children (one of whom is a physicist) are genetically inferior because his first wife was allegedly not as intelligent as he. However, all is not voluntary in Shockley's "brave new (Aryan) world." He also proposes a "voluntary-compulsion" plan targeting those with genetically transmitted diseases such as sickle-cell anemia, which affects mainly blacks (and Sicilians).

If his plan is not implemented, this dangerous nut incredibly looks forward to a "dirty nuclear war" as civilization's last best hope. In a 1980 phone conversation with reporter Witherspoon, introduced as evidence in the trial, Shockley said that in a nuclear war "those who survive will be people endowed with far above average intelligence and foresight.... Disproportionately large fractions of the Swiss and Swedish populations will emerge from shelters tunneled into their mountains."

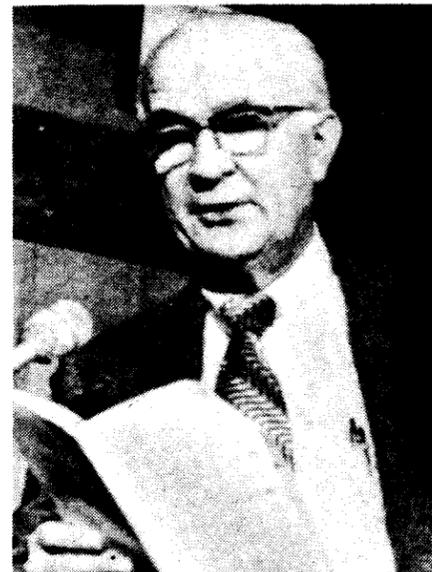
Shockley had also favorably quoted portions of a letter from one Richard L. Masland, director of the "National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness": "It has concerned me that to my knowledge there has never been any attempt at an objective evaluation of the results of the Nazi eugenics program. Whatever the ethics of that undertaking, it certainly represented a vast and I'm sure systematic experiment in racial improvement through the elimination of the unfit...."

Testifying for the defense, Barry Mehler, a historian who has studied the racists' pseudo-science of "eugenics," stated that the Shockley plan does indeed parallel the Nazi experiments in many ways. The Nazis started out with a "voluntary" plan; three years into power they had sterilized 56,000 people. In the concentration camps, sterilizations were running at the rate of 1,000 per day, while often anesthesia was not used so the doctors could "study" reaction to pain. But it wasn't only the Nazis who

did this stuff. At what is now called the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, syphilis experiments were carried out on blacks in Tuskegee County, Alabama for over 40 years, involving 400 sharecroppers and day laborers to determine the effects of untreated syphilis. The experiment ended only in 1972, 30 years after a cure for syphilis had been found. These men were told they had "bad blood"—"bad blood," "bad genes."

In the climate of Reagan's America, opponents of this racist garbage who testified for the defense were viciously red-baited. When prominent anthropologist Ashley Montagu appeared in court, Shockley's attorney Murray Silver denounced Montagu as a Communist for writing in *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race* (1942) of the Soviet Union as a model of how to deal with nationalities and races. Silver told the jury not to believe Professor Mehler because he was "left-handed," "liberal" and "anti-Reagan"! When the defense argued that the National Academy of Sciences refused to touch Shockley's "research," he likened the academy to the Russian geneticist Lysenko, who under Stalin had his opponents banished to Siberia.

In his 1981 book, *The Mismeasure of Man*, noted biologist Stephen Jay Gould dismissed these crackpot biological determinists: "Who even remembers the hot topics of ten years ago: Shockley's proposals for reimbursing voluntarily sterilized individuals according to their number of IQ points below 100, the



UPI

William Shockley, an ideologue for racist terror.

great XYZ debate, or the attempt to explain urban riots by diseased neurology of rioters." But here we are in the Reagan years and such racist claptrap is seriously debated in court. Historian C. Vann Woodward has pointed to the correlation between the theories of the "natural inferiority" of blacks with the imposition of Jim Crow laws in the South.

Shockley had sought the Atlanta trial in order to broadcast and popularize his dangerous theories of racial inferiority. "It would be worth everything, even if I don't get one cent," he said. "My complaint is that people have not taken me seriously, you see?" (*Washington Post*, 12 September). When the jury awarded him one lousy buck, however, he complained bitterly: "The *Constitution* has not in any way been punished for libel...." Shockley is an "ideologue" for fascist terror. The nightriding lynchers, cross burners and bombers must be smashed through massive mobilizations of labor/black power. It will take victorious socialist revolution to sweep away this murderous racist filth. ■

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Guardian Shot Down...

(continued from page 2)

challenged by the liberal *Nation*, which at least has the guts to take a controversial position and defend it. Even the *New York Times'* Tom Wicker beat the *Guardian* to the punch. And now these would-be leftists have come out in their 8 August issue explicitly endorsing Mondale/Ferraro in the November elections. (How do you like your candidate's call for a "quarantine" of Sandinista Nicaragua and his year-later endorsement of Reagan's Grenada invasion?) Don't expect a "correction" on this one soon, though.

At the Democratic convention in San Francisco last July, assorted social democrats sponsored a "Whose Party Is This Anyway?" forum where California Assemblyman and ex-SDS leader Tom Hayden described his district as "frumpies—formerly radical upwardly mobile professionals." This is just the constituency that the *Guardian* is appealing to. Today even it admits the KAL 007 affair was "a milestone event in the current cold war." But at this milestone these ex-radicals took a sharp right down the road to a third imperialist world war against the Soviet Union. It is the *Guardian* that must be held accountable and condemned for beating the war drums for Reagan. ■

CWP...

(continued from page 2)

Democrat to give them cover. The Spartacist League responded to the Greensboro massacre with nationwide demonstrations. Since then the SL has carried out a number of important labor/black mobilizations in northern cities which have effectively interdicted the KKK from expanding out of their Southern bailiwick. Most notably, on 27 November 1982 in Washington, D.C., 5,000 predominantly black working people responded to our call to stop the KKK at the Capitol, while the CWP wandered haplessly between the Democratic Party windbags' rally at McPherson Square and the SL-initiated Labor/Black Mobilization.

Closing down *Workers Viewpoint* is self-evidently a statement of political bankruptcy. The CWP's letter to subscribers claimed that "we are looking forward to the start of something new." Something new, something old—the popular front has been the main line of Stalinist liquidationism from FDR to Mondale. We don't pretend to know what's going on inside the CWP. But for a party with a revolutionary will, there will always be a core of comrades who find a way to get the paper out. Everyone from the tsarist censors to his leftist detractors tried to shut down Lenin's *Iskra*, but he fought for the paper because it was the voice of the party. As Lenin wrote in *What Is To Be*

Done? the paper must be the "scaffolding" for the construction of "the revolutionary organization that is ever ready to support every protest and every outbreak"; that it must be not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator but also a *collective organizer*.

But of course, if you don't want to build a communist party, an organization of professional revolutionaries, to support and lead every protest and every outbreak; if instead you're working for Mondale and Ferraro... then who needs it? From the closing down of *Workers Viewpoint*, can the demise of the CWP be far behind? ■

Evolution...

(continued from page 7)

and politics, and finally, "the fantastic reflection of human things in the human mind: religion." As wealth accumulated, small groups of men seized power and forced others to work for them. Labor, the source of all wealth and the primary impetus for human evolution, assumed the same low status of those who labored for the rulers. Since rulers governed by their will (that is, by feats of mind), actions of the brain appeared to have a motive power of their own. The profession of philosophy followed no unsullied ideal of truth. Philosophers relied on state or religious patronage. Even if Plato did not consciously conspire to bolster the privileges of rulers with a supposedly abstract philos-

ophy, his own class position encouraged an emphasis on thought as primary, dominating, and altogether more noble and important than the labor it supervised. This idealistic tradition dominated philosophy right through to Darwin's day. Its influence was so subtle and pervasive that even scientific, but apolitical, materialists like Darwin fell under its sway. A bias must be recognized before it can be challenged. Cerebral primacy seemed so obvious and natural that it was accepted as given, rather than recognized as a deep-seated social prejudice related to the class position of professional thinkers and their patrons. Engels writes:

"All merit for the swift advance of civilization was ascribed to the mind, to the development and activity of the brain. Men became accustomed to explain their actions from their thoughts, instead of from their needs... And so there arose in the course of time that idealistic outlook on the world which, especially since the downfall of the ancient world, has dominated men's minds. It still rules them to such a degree that even the most materialistic natural scientists of the Darwinian school are still unable to form any clear idea of the origin of man, because under that ideological influence they do not recognize the part that has been played therein by labor."

The importance of Engels's essay does not lie in the happy result that *Australopithecus* confirmed a specific theory proposed by him... but rather in his perceptive analysis of the political role of science and of the social biases that must affect all thought. ■

Diana Coleman...

(continued from page 3)

and Republican.

From South Africa to Central America, Reagan stands by his butchers. And from South Africa to Central America, the working masses are struggling desperately to overturn these repressive capitalist regimes. Central America is the front line in this hemisphere of the anti-Soviet war drive—where Reagan plans counterrevolution from Nicaragua to Cuba, and then to the Soviet Union. We say: Military victory to Salvadoran leftist insurgents! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador! In Nicaragua, where the U.S. is funding *contras* and soldier-of-fortune-type mercenaries, the SL says: Kill the invaders! Defend, complete and extend the Nicaraguan revolution!

Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. Labor has the power to stop imperialist interventions around the world. Militant postal, auto and coal strikes could not only smash Reagan's war on labor and minorities but also go a long way toward spiking the sinister anti-Soviet war drive. This time around there can and must be *labor strikes* from Day 1 of a U.S. invasion of Central America. This is what the SL fights for—political strike action against imperialist war. But so long as the capitalists have the weapons and state power, the threat of war is ever-present. Imperialist war will end only when the proletariat takes power and establishes its own class rule. Class struggle, not Democrats, is what we need to bring down Reagan reaction. On this, the 50th year anniversary of the SF General Strike, it's time to stop eulogizing the



WV Photos

Left: Diana Coleman speaking with SF phone unionists. Right: Richard Bradley at rally for striking restaurant workers.

General Strike as the labor bureaucrats have been doing, and to realize that we have to do it again!

Now here in SF in this election, South Africa is a big issue. And let's see how some of our political opponents address this question. We have Julianne Malveaux who is being supported by the "Rainbow Coalition." She's putting a proposition on the ballot that calls for divestment of city funds from companies that do business in South Africa. This is nothing but a plea to the "liberal" imperialists to act more morally—a cruel hoax because capitalism puts nothing before profits.

The kind of divestment we're interested in is for the workers of South Africa to divest the imperialists and capitalists of their property through workers revolution! We seek to mobilize the American working class to expropriate the capitalists here as well.

Then, there's Sylvia Weinstein of Socialist Action—she's for liberal divestment schemes, too. Her other big love is Polish Solidarność—company union for CIA and Western bankers. It's revealing, isn't it, that the Solidarność activists who have been trying to restore capitalism in Poland are now emigrating en masse to South Africa, that bastion of the "free world."

So let me suggest to Sylvia Weinstein that she ask anti-apartheid militants in South Africa what they think of Polish anti-communists who go to South Africa to live well amid the superexploitation and misery of blacks. For our part, we believe that black workers must take the lead to smash the apartheid regime. And for this, a revolutionary

vanguard party is a prime necessity. Such a party would seek to win over militants of the African National Congress to the Trotskyist program of *permanent revolution*, that is one-stage revolution—socialist revolution, in South Africa.

It is this perspective which links the struggle for workers revolution in each country to world socialist revolution against imperialism. This is the only way forward for the working class internationally. ■

Richard Bradley...

(continued from page 3)

coast to coast, as a group fomenting convention "violence." We were targeted despite our emphatic public statements expressing our essential indifference to the proceedings of that bourgeois gathering, at the same time vigorously defending the rights of the Democrats and their demonstrators to free assembly and free speech.

Feinstein's cops turned San Francisco into a militarized zone during the convention, beating and arresting hundreds. Now the emboldened SF cops are running amok, against gays, blacks and anyone they hate.

The Spartacist candidates' legal counsel, Valerie West, protested the cop harassment of Bradley to the chief of police:

"While Mr. Bradley's removal of the Confederate flag received wide publici-

ty and much favorable response from the public in general, nonetheless it was apparently not popular with many of the officers at Northern Station. When he was arrested for taking down the Confederate flag, officers at Northern Station subjected Richard Bradley to racial abuse and harassment... All of these facts were the subject of testimony during the course of Mr. Bradley's trial....

"In recent months, most notably since the brutal treatment of demonstrators during the Democratic Convention, there has been widespread concern about police abuse of the public. Therefore, I insist that you take all steps necessary to insure that Mr. Bradley, as well as his fellow candidate Diana Coleman, and their campaign workers are not subjected to any further police harassment and abuse."

The Bradley and Coleman campaign is in defense of the democratic rights cherished by labor and its allies, rights which are integral to the right of a workers party to organize. *Hands Off Richard Bradley!* ■

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Labor: Stop Ships, Planes to South Africa!

As tens of thousands of black gold miners and township residents are fighting the full fury of South Africa's apartheid state terror, solidarity action by the international labor movement is urgently necessary. Since the eruption of mass, anti-apartheid black protests early this month, the international Spartacist tendency and class-struggle union militants have called for an emergency international labor boycott of all cargo to and from South Africa. In Australia, maritime workers had already undertaken such an action.

On September 20, militants of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) in the San Francisco Bay Area distributed a leaflet headlined "Longshoremen: Hot Cargo All South African Shipping!" The leaflet, issued by 25-year ILWU veteran Stan Gow, stated, "Black workers in South Africa have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery—we must stand shoulder to shoulder with them in their fight. Local 10—take the lead! Stop all cargo to or from South Africa! Call on the ILWU, ILA and international transport unions to do likewise." The leaflet concluded with a call to "strike a blow against

apartheid and the racist, anti-Soviet Washington/Pretoria axis!"

At the September 24 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union (NMU), members of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus presented a resolution calling for effective solidarity with South African blacks from all maritime workers. "It is in the interest of the labor movement," the resolution stated, "to smash all forms of racism and racial oppression, including the vicious South African apartheid regime which has subjugated and butchered millions of non-whites." The militants called for "stopping all ships and cargo to and from South Africa." Despite poisonous "honky" race-baiting of caucus spokesman Gene Herson by Port Agent Andy Rich, the motion was signed by 15 union members, mainly blacks, as well as by a delegate supported by the Communist Party's *Daily World*.

Calls for union boycotts of transport and commerce with South Africa are not the usual empty liberal rhetoric. In Australia, maritime workers have begun to put solidarity into action. In response to the apartheid butchers' murderous suppression of mass protests in Sharpe-

ville, beginning on September 6 workers in the port of Sydney "blacked" (hot-cargood) the South African vessel *Sasoean Nederburg*. First the Waterside Workers Federation boycotted the ship for 24 hours and then tugboat workers in the Firemen and Deckhands' Union of New South Wales refused to handle the ship for two more days.

In contrast to liberal "divestment" schemes, which only prettify U.S.

imperialism, Trotskyists have called on labor internationally to refuse to handle military cargo to South Africa. Today a boycott of all transport is called for to support the black revolt against apartheid. Come to the aid of our black working-class brothers and sisters facing murderous police-state repression in South Africa! Words are cheap. Now is the hour for concrete acts of labor solidarity! ■

Oakland, June 1983—West Coast longshore militants seek to stop South African ship to protest execution of anti-apartheid fighters.



South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

eight mines struck last week are owned by Anglo-American, a huge conglomerate which is the core of the Oppenheimer family empire. The Oppenheimers represent the so-called liberal wing of South African capitalism. Faced with the labor upsurge of the 1970s, Anglo-American's board saw that black unions of some sort were inevitable. Instead of waiting for bitter strikes it decided to let organizers into the mine compounds "on the theory that it is easier to negotiate with recognized leaders of organized unions than to confront an angry mob" (*New York Times*, 15 March 1983). The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) is a product of this company union strategy. Its general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa was once on the board of the Urban Foundation, an Anglo-American-funded body which promotes elite housing and training for the black petty bourgeoisie. The NUM gets most of its funds from that Cold War creature of the American labor bureaucracy and CIA, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. But in the explosive conditions of South Africa today even this tame black union can easily get out of control.

Much of what has happened in the mines in the past few weeks is murky from a distance. According to the London *Financial Times*, the period leading up to the strike and contract settlement was carefully choreographed by management, complete with a face-saving additional 2.3 percent last-

minute pay offer, which the NUM leadership apparently accepted just after the strike deadline had passed. The *Wall Street Journal* (19 September) lauded the settlement, which, it said, "demonstrated—for the first time—that at least some mining companies in South Africa were willing to deal with a black union." But the superexploited black

black toilers. Though apartheid has forcibly uprooted 3.5 million blacks and dumped them into the bantustan hell-holes, though it arrests hundreds and thousands a year for not having permits in their passbooks to be in "white" South Africa, the lifeblood of the country's mines, ports and factories is



London, June 1984—Spartacist League/Britain joins thousands confronting apartheid terrorist chief P.W. Botha.

miners did not dance for their masters. Tens of thousands of them wildcatted while unorganized workers went out on their own. The mining bosses reacted, as usual, with massive police violence. This is a sign not of the strength and stability of apartheid but of its weakness.

For Permanent Revolution in South Africa!

As Marx wrote in *Capital*, modern society "grets gold as its Holy Grail, as the glittering incarnation of the very principle of its own life." It was the extraction of this Holy Grail that gave South African capitalism its peculiar expression of *combined and uneven development*. The profitability of mining in South Africa has been historically maintained not through capital investment, which increases the productivity of labor, but through brutalization and enslavement to increase the superexploitation of labor. To supply the raw muscle power and lifeblood to extract these riches from the bowels of the earth the black peoples of southern Africa have been stripped of their birthright and land, and transformed through apartheid into a migratory labor force with its barracks-like compounds and onerous pass controls. The gold mines are a concentrated microcosm of the prison camp that South Africa is for

black labor. Apartheid is, above all, a system for keeping black labor cheap and vulnerable. It leaves all those it does not need—the children, the women, the old, the maimed, and an ever-increasing reserve army of the unemployed—to the desperate poverty of the bantustans. Thus workers are paid little more than is needed to keep them slaving from one day to the next, always with a threat of deportation to the bantustans with a note in the passbook "idle and undesirable."

Yet the very "success" of the system is driving it into crisis. The boom of the 1960s has given way to stagnation caused by an acute skilled labor shortage, low productivity and a weak domestic market. As an economist at the Chamber of Mines put it, "You cannot run this economy on whites alone" (*Wall Street Journal*, 19 June). While discontent among the oppressed non-white masses, from Indian traders to coloured students to black African small farmers, is nearly universal, it is the five-million-strong black proletariat which has the power to bring the arrogant white supremacists to their knees.

Key to centralizing and organizing the enormous social power of this nascent black labor movement against the apartheid state is the organization of

its class-conscious vanguard into a Trotskyist party, as the leader of the oppressed nation. Such a party must base itself upon the lessons of the Russian Revolution, the only successful workers revolution and one which had to address the uncompleted bourgeois national democratic tasks. These lessons generalized in Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution demonstrate that the tasks of national reconstruction and emancipation, agrarian revolution and genuine democracy require for their resolution the seizure of power by the proletariat at the head of the urban and rural toiling masses: For a black-centered workers and peasants government in South Africa!

South Africa is a junior partner of the major imperialist powers as well as a regional imperialist power in its own right. The U.S. and its imperialist allies' war to overturn the gains of the Russian Revolution is at the very heart of the Washington/Pretoria axis, as demonstrated in Angola, where Soviet-backed Cuban troops defend Angola from the apartheid *sjambok* (whip). From the gold and uranium mines of the Rand to the docks and industries of the Cape, every blow struck against apartheid is a blow against Reagan/Botha's sinister anti-Soviet war drive. The black proletariat of South Africa is destined not only to be the liberators of their oppressed nation, but by placing the country's vast mineral resources and industrial wealth at the service of social and national emancipation, it can be the powerhouse for social revolution throughout deeply oppressed and economically backward black Africa.

The oppressed throughout the world see in apartheid the mirror of their own colonial, national and racial oppression, and therefore keenly solidarize with every blow that is struck against the white supremacist regime. In the U.S., because of their concentration in the industrial proletariat, black people can translate racial and class solidarity into powerful labor action against apartheid terror. As Trotsky told his supporters in the U.S.: "We must say to the conscious elements of the Negroes that they are convoked by the historic development to become a vanguard of the working class." Thereby they become a strategic component of the leadership of the American workers revolution that can turn this country, the most wealthy and brutal slavemaster of the colonial masses, into a powerful ally of their complete liberation. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area

Fri.: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
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Trotskyist League of Canada

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Sat.: 1:00-5:00 p.m.
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Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

In GOLD We Trust

"In God We Trust" say those dollar bills. But U.S. money hasn't always relied on divine intervention to back it. The motto first appeared on a bronze two-cent piece, in 1864 when U.S. money all but stopped existing due to the Civil War hyperinflation; god is a lot cheaper than real money. The motto created a political furor in 1907-08 when Teddy Roosevelt issued a new gold eagle, designed by the great sculptor St. Gaudens, without "In God We Trust" on it. Roosevelt objected to putting god on coins, but Congress overruled him. Then in the Cold War climate of the 1950s, trust in god was applied to the dollar bill.

You'd better trust god, because you sure as hell can't trust the government! In the 1960s when the price of silver

went past the "melting point"—that is, due to inflation the value of the silver in dimes and quarters exceeded their purchasing power—the Treasury Department, all the while flatly lying about its intentions, secretly grabbed up the coins, thereby looting their own currency. Indeed, U.S. currency backed by "trust in god" rather than gold (or even some other commodity) is just fiat money backed by state power—the number of aircraft carriers you have. So the Marines can land on some Caribbean island and force the local merchants to accept their currency or else.

"In God We Trust"?—as the "founding fathers" would have said, *whose* god? Defend the separation of church and state! Keep god's hands off other people's money!

Religion...

(continued from page 12)

In McCarthy's Cold War, the Vatican's Catholic hierarchy played a similar role in supporting American imperialist reaction. Then their main task was to do the dirty work in driving Communists and socialists out of the labor movement, via scores of Jesuit and other Catholic "labor schools" which trained trade-union bureaucrats in anti-Communist purge tactics. The "high road" of American Protestant anti-Communism was taken by theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, the "thinking man's" anti-Communist, who inspired the liberal Cold Warriors like Hubert Humphrey—and Walter Mondale.

President Truman tried back then to appoint an American ambassador to the Vatican. (It was General Mark W. Clark, who idiotically butchered mainly *American* soldiers driving up Italy against entrenched German positions in World War II.) Truman couldn't get away with it, but Reagan's already done it. James P. Cannon, the founder of Trotskyism in this country, made some fundamental points regarding Truman's attempts to give the Vatican special privileges:

"All the people of this country who cherish the freedoms they have inherited have a stake in the controversy. The leadership of this fight belongs by right to the labor movement, for the trade unions cannot live and breathe without freedom from the control of both church and state. They will not escape eventual involvement, although the entire leadership is trying to evade the issue in craven silence. The simple truth is that the labor skates are afraid of the Catholic Church, whose cardinals and bishops are already reaching out for control of the unions. Woe to the American labor movement if they succeed!...

"The First Amendment to the Constitution is our amendment; and we must defend it tooth and nail against all aggressions, whether secular or religious."

—"Church and State" (1951),
Notebook of an Agitator

Cannon recognized that the Vatican was uniquely important as a Cold War ally of U.S. imperialism. Writing about former Socialist Workers Party spokesman Grace Carlson, who, broken and demoralized by the anti-communist witchhunt, returned to the fold of the church, he recounted:

"I reminded her that the policies of the Catholic Church are not determined by the parishioners nor by the parish priests, but by the Catholic hierarchy, which is first of all a political power, the most reactionary and obscurantist force in the entire world. I reminded her of Cardinal Spellman, who broke the strike of cemetery workers in New York, and who has just recently been to Spain, where he paid homage to the bloody dictator Franco."

—"How We Won Grace Carlson and How We Lost Her" (1952)

A few years later Cardinal Spellman became a major force involving the U.S. in the Vietnam War on behalf of his protégé in Saigon, Ngo Dinh Diem.

Recently, when Reagan met with the apostolic delegate after the Democratic convention last summer, the White House explained that the president regularly consults with the pope over Poland. While the role of the Vatican in Cold War II is every bit as reactionary and important as in Cold War I, the response of the self-styled left is quite different. Thus practically the entire Western left rallied to the clerical-nationalist Solidarność in Poland, a movement inspired and to a large degree directed by Pope Wojtyla. Solidarność' bid for power in the fall of 1981 marked probably Western imperialism's greatest opportunity to "roll back" Communism in the entire postwar period. Fortunately, the plans of Reagan and Wojtyla to reconquer Poland for "the free world" were frustrated for the moment...

For the Separation of Church and State!

In the name of fighting "godless Communism," America's rulers today are attacking one of the most basic gains of the first American revolution: separation of church and state. As the respected liberal historian Henry Steele Commager recently said:

"We tend to forget that separation of church and state and rejection of religious establishments were, in the 18th century, the most revolutionary experiment on which the new United States embarked. It commanded more attention, applause and censure than creation of the new nation or the rejection of colonialism. No other Western nation had ever tried so reckless an experiment."

—New York Times,
16 September

While Reagan, Falwell and Cardinal O'Connor loudly proclaim the United States "a Christian country," many, if not most, of the Founding Fathers of this country were *not* Christians. They were men who believed in the rational humanism of the Enlightenment and who opposed all revealed and established religion. Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and many other signers of the Declaration of Independence polemicized at great length *against* Christianity. Adams, for example, wrote to Jefferson: "This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there was no religion in it." Nor were these views limited to a handful of wealthy and educated men. It's estimated that a third of the population of colonial America at the time of the Revolution did not practice any kind of religion. Ethan Allen of Vermont's Green Mountain Boys, for example, is today known as an audacious guerrilla leader in the Revolutionary War. He was also the author of a lengthy tract debunking the Bible from the standpoint of rational humanism.

Why are America's present rulers attacking the secular humanism of the republic's Founding Fathers and heroes? Because the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776 was a progressive development in the history of mankind. As Lenin wrote in his

Defend the Gains of 1776!

The American Revolution of 1776 was to a large degree led by men steeped in the rational humanism of the Enlightenment who considered all established religion a form of barbaric superstition. Thus their insistence on the separation of church and state, which was universally regarded as the most radical aspect of the American Revolution.



George Washington



Thomas Jefferson

"We have abundant reason to rejoice that in this Land the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened Age and in this Land of equal liberty it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the Laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest Offices that are known in the United States."

—Letter to the members of the New Church in Baltimore (27 January 1793)



John Adams

"Eight millions of Jews hope for a Messiah more powerful and glorious than Moses, David, or Solomon; who is to make them as powerful as he pleases. Some hundreds of millions of Mussulmans expect another prophet more powerful than Mahomet, who is to spread Islamism over the whole earth. Hundreds of millions of Christians expect and hope for a millennium in which Jesus is to reign for a thousand years over the whole world before it is burnt up. The Hindoos expect another and final incarnation of Vishnu, who is to do great and wonderful things. I know not what. All these hopes are founded on real or pretended revelation... You and I hope for splendid improvements in human society, and vast amelioration in the condition of mankind. Our faith may be supposed by more rational arguments than any of the former."

—Letter to Thomas Jefferson (24 September 1821)

"Millions of innocent men, women and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. To support roguery and error all over the earth."

—"Notes on the State of Virginia" (1781-82)

"... the priests indeed have heretofore thought proper to ascribe to me religious, or rather anti-religious sentiments, of their own fabric, but such as soothed their resentments against the act of Virginia for establishing religious freedom. They wished him to be thought atheist, deist, or devil, who could advocate freedom from their religious dictations. But I have ever thought religion a concern purely between our God and our consciences, for which we were accountable to him, and not to the priests."

—Letter to Mrs. Harrison Smith (6 August 1816)



James Madison

"Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other Religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute three pence only of his property for the support of any one establishment, may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever?"

—"Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" (1785)

"Letter to American Workers" (1918):

"The history of modern, civilized America opened with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there have been so few compared to the vast number of wars of conquest which, like the present imperialist war, were caused by squabbles among kings, landowners or capitalists over the division of usurped lands or ill-gotten gains."

Certainly, Marxists do not idealize the "spirit of '76." The U.S. Constitution sanctioned black chattel slavery and many of the Founding Fathers were slaveholders. It took the second American revolution, the Civil War of 1861-65, to abolish slavery. And it will take the third American revolution—a proletarian socialist revolution—to liberate black people from racist oppression.

Nonetheless, the America of Reagan

and Mondale—a no longer progressive capitalism!—cannot tolerate the promise that all men are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the promise upon which this republic was founded. For the America of 1984 is the main force for world reaction and counterrevolution from Central America to South Africa to Southeast Asia. It is the present-day analogue of the tsarist Russia which the American Founding Fathers held in contempt as the bastion of world reaction in their day—the tsarist Russia against whose tyranny Lenin and the Bolsheviks organized the proletariat. The American working class, too, will destroy the tyranny of U.S. imperialism. And all the prayers of all its priests will not save the masters of Wall Street and Washington from the dustbin of history. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Keep God Out of It!

Religion in the Elections

They want a Cold War Inquisition. Last month there was the spectacle of fundamentalist revival preaching at the Dallas Republican convention, with thousands of businessmen and their wives gloating that "God is a Republican" and his anointed spokesman is Ronald Reagan. And with the U.S. commander in chief's key ally, the anti-Communist Polish pope Karol Wojtyla, spearheading Cold War II in Eastern Europe and Latin America, the Vatican is also aggressively exerting its reactionary influence in the United States. It used to be that the Democratic Party was denounced by the Republicans as the party of "rum, Romanism and rebellion." But today you have Catholic bishops openly campaigning for the Republican right and attacking middle-of-the-road Democratic Catholic ethnic politicians like Gerry Ferraro and Mario Cuomo for (horror of horrors) "secular humanism." Religious bigotry is being unleashed by the American ruling class to goad the American people into line behind the war drive against the Soviet Union. In order to destroy the gains of the Russian Revolution of 1917, the greatest victory for the world working class, the American rulers must now attack the gains of the American bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1776, namely, the separation of church and state!

The Protestant fundamentalists and Catholic hierarchy are pounding hard at one of women's most fundamental rights, the right to abortion, while attempts to enforce prayer in the public schools are reaching frightening proportions. If the Republicans do get their way and pass a constitutional amendment forbidding *all* abortions, you can bet there *will* be a lot of praying in school (please, god, let me not be pregnant). And, bitterly, there will be a lot of dead and mutilated teenagers who in desperation get butchered in back-alley operations. Above and beyond this vast increase in human misery, there would be the terror and humiliation enforced on kids who maybe don't *want* to pray, particularly when the "official" prayer is probably going to be some variant of General Midwinter's "barbecue-the-Comms" diatribes out of Len Deighton's *Billion Dollar Brain*: "Dear Heavenly Father... help us to awaken our beloved country to its great danger. Help us to cleanse it and hold it safe from the godless forces of Communism that surround it and threaten it from within."

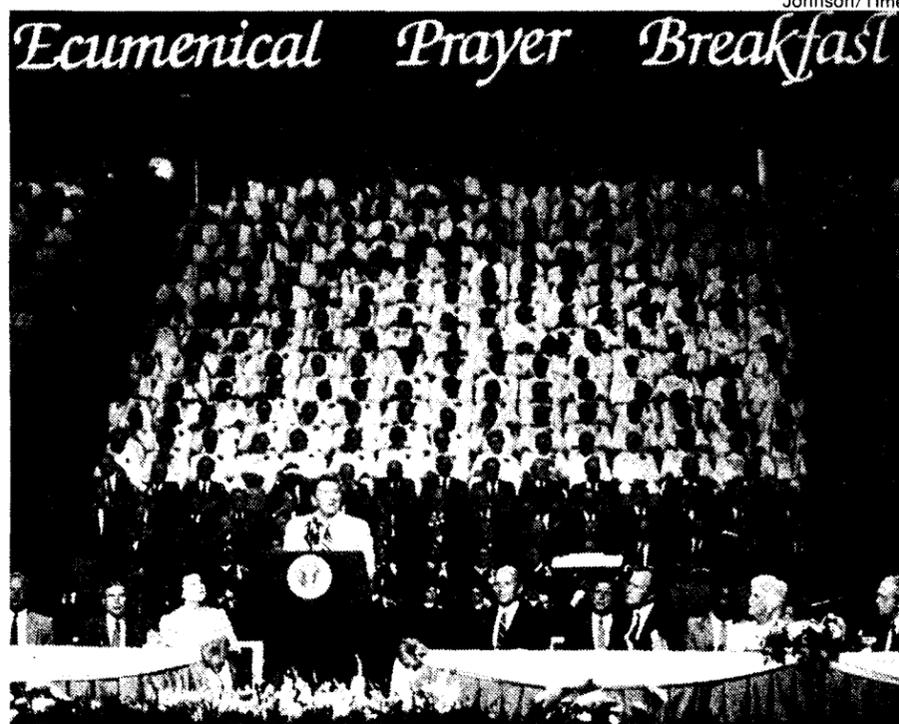
The tidal wave of enforced intolerance is scaring a lot of people. As Joseph Kraft noted in an article titled "Elmer Gantry Time" (*Washington Post*, 6 September): "...religious zealots in this country see in Russia the shrine of atheism—the enemy incarnate. It was logical, not far-out, for the president to stigmatize the Soviet Union as 'the evil empire' in a speech to a religious group. Insofar as he continues to play to the fundamentalists, it will be impossible to reach accommodation with Moscow." But of course Reagan doesn't *want* to

reach accommodation with Moscow; he wants a holy war and nuclear Armageddon. And he could do it: this Elmer Gantry's got the bomb.

But not to worry, Reagan tells the American people: like the old song says, "We never can lose, boys, with god on our side." There's a one word answer to that: Vietnam. America's rulers are *still* trying to recover moral momentum

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Above: Reagan leads pray-in in Dallas, while Moral Majority demagogue Jerry Falwell (right) proclaims God is a Republican.



after that stunning defeat. Much of this religious hysteria is intended to overwhelm the American public's justified mistrust and unwillingness to get involved in any more such debacles. Thus all the "God is an American" rhetoric, combined with appeals to primitive macho anxieties about sex and the home: send women back to the hearth, grab your gun and shield the wife and kids from the "pinko-Commie" enemy within. But there's the enemy without, too, hence the "evil empire" rhetoric and Reagan's alliance with the Vatican for whom Soviet Russia is the "anti-Christ."

Just because Reagan's zealots are scaring the hell out of people is no reason to think Democratic liberal Cold Warrior Mondale is any better. Looking increasingly like a wimpy loser, Mon-

religious fundamentalist movement. Carter, a born-again Baptist and part-time Sunday school teacher, set out to rejuvenate the "moral fibre" of a demoralized and economically declining nation under the slogan of "human rights," his administration's ideological cover for war preparations against the USSR. What Carter sowed, Reagan is reaping with a vengeance.

Whose Bigotry Will Prevail?

Of course, the current alliance between the Catholic hierarchy and Reagan's collection of nativist American holy rollers, revivalists and Protestant fundamentalists has its peculiar features, which more thoughtful (or at least practical) politicians like Mario Cuomo recognize. Responding to Archbishop John O'Connor's assaults on

Ferraro and himself for refusing to ban abortion, Cuomo made the simple point: "With regard to abortion, the American bishops have had to weigh Catholic moral teaching against the fact of a pluralistic country where our view is in the minority" (*New York Times*, 14 September). "Whose Christianity?" he rightfully asked regarding pleas to declare America a "Christian country." Indeed, it was only with the election of John Kennedy in 1960 that Catholics were for the first time admitted nationally into the mainstream of American political life. Whether this is enough to overcome a century of anti-Catholic prejudice and WASP ethnic hostility to Italian and Polish immigrants is still a tender question.

If the Catholic hierarchy's anti-Communist alliance with Moral Majority fundamentalism may rebound against the ethnic Catholic population in this country, this danger is much greater for right-wing Jewish Zionists. The *Commentary* crowd may find that their worst enemies are not the Comms after all. For Jerry Falwell and his ilk, the United States is a white Christian country and Jews don't conform on either count. One delegate at the recent B'nai B'rith convention, where Reagan and Mondale exchanged barbs, said half jokingly, "sometimes I think he [Reagan] wants to make Israel strong so that when he makes the United States into a Christian country, he can send us all over there" (*New York Times*, 7 September). For faithfully serving the New Right, Norman Podhoretz and wife Midge Decter could even find themselves in the Promised Land whether they want to go there or not. Not many American Jews would like living in Israel with its constant military mobilization, 400 percent a year inflation and theocratic dictatorship.

The Catholic hierarchy railing against abortion and the American Zionist hierarchy railing for war with Russia help fuel a social climate in which abortion clinics are bombed and union organizers and reds are murdered in cold blood in broad daylight, i.e., a social climate in which the *terrorist* ultraright flourishes. A mass fascist movement in America would be nativist as well as racist sparing neither Catholics nor Jews while it targets blacks, reds and unionists.

The Second Time Around

In Cold War II Reagan & Co. want to replay the late '40s-'50s anti-Communist McCarthyite hysteria, with guns drawn. Only this time the country's in much worse economic shape, with the capitalists therefore contemplating more desperate measures to restore their profit system. The leading characters are increasingly drawn from what used to be known as the "lunatic fringe" of American political life, which under Reagan is becoming the mainstream. And the nuclear bombs are bigger and better than ever this time.

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